1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

penalty was not only enforced against improper marriage, but even against illicit intercourse on the part of persons within the forbidden limits. Mr. Lyon related to me a case that occurred since he has been living in the country, where the power of the Chief Chirimo was insufficient to protect a man who married his second or third cousin. Fortunately for the delinquents, they succeeded in making their escape, though with difficulty, being followed two or three days' journey by the avengers. 582 684

Infidelity is not rare, and the husband has the redress of whipping the woman and dismissing her if he desires, and of whipping her paramour if he is able. But so cautious are the people about the blood limit of intermarriage, that a woman on giving birth to an illegitimate child, for fear that it will not know the family to which it belongs, will usually brave the punishment, and at once confess its paternity. 857 684 [848]

As cousins are called brother and sister, so are not only the brothers and sisters, but even the cousins of a wife or husband all called indiscriminately brother and sister-in-law; so that a person may on a single marriage find that he has annexed fifty or a hundred of these interesting relations. 601

On the death of the head of the family, the next oldest brother, or in default of a brother, a cousin or uncle assumes his place, and is then called father by the children. This does not involve any especial material duties, such as the support of the family; but is rather a sort of honorary title; giving him, however, the ruling voice in any family council or discussion. 593 768

On the death of an individual; if a young person, a woman, or a person of but little consequence, the body is prepared as soon as possible in the manner described below, and carried to the forest; but if a person of more consideration, there are some preliminary ceremonies. These I had the opportunity of witnessing in the case of an old man who died on the Uren when I was present. He belonged to one of the distinguished families, an ancestor, perhaps his father, having been one of the leaders in the war with Tiribi, and he the heir to, and possessor of, one of the few gold "eagles," or insignia of rank. He died in the night, and next morning, the body being in his hammock, covered with a piece of bark cloth; all of the chicha, chocolate, and food that the poor people of the house could get together on short notice were prepared. A fire was lighted, amidst singing, by twirling a pointed stick in a socket on the face of another. This was the sacred fire, which was communicated to a small heap of wood placed on one side in the house. This could be used for no common purpose whatever. No ordinary fire could be lighted from it; not even could one use a stick of it to light his pipe. It must burn continuously for nine days. In case of its accidentally going out before that time, it must be relighted in the same manner as at first; and at the end of that time, only a priest could extinguish it, and he only with a calabash of chocolate, and during, or at the end rather, of the suitable incantation. 764 766 [372] [784]

l:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
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764 bundle about two feet long; enveloped in a piece of cloth of native make, prepared by being painted in an allegorical manner.

These cloths, about four feet long by two wide, are painted with a red vegetable juice, in figures two to four inches long. The devices vary according to the cause of the death of the individual; whether it be from fever or other disease, old age, snake bite, wounds, &c. One of these cloths, in the Smithsonian museum, is painted for a person who is supposed to have died from snake bite.

The bones, having been tied up in the new bundle, are carried, again under a pole, to the house where the feast is to be held, and are there placed on a little rack overhead, out of the way of persons passing underneath.

Everything being ready, the first installment of food cooked, the chicha brewed, and chocolate boiled, the feast begins.

[123] I had the rare good fortune, not only to witness the ceremony at the death of the persons mentioned above, but also to be present at the death feast of the chief Santiago. That is to say, I saw all that happened on the first and the last days; the intervening thirteen or fourteen being all alike; a succession of eating, drinking, dancing; a disgusting scene of carousal and debauch that did not possess even the merit of variety.

766 The feast was held in a large house, adjoining the residence of the chief Birche. The house is about seventy-five feet long and forty wide; the ends being round, and the only light entering by the large doorway left open at one end. A little rack, made of wild cane was tied up to the sloping side of the house, about eight feet from the floor, and on this was laid the bundle containing the disjointed skeleton of the murdered chief. At a given signal, the principal singer or priest took his position on a low stool, flanked by the other priests and some volunteers. All were regaled with chocolate served in little gourds. The priest began a low chant and two men started twirling the stick to light the fire. As fast as one tired, [372] another took his place until the sparks glowed in the pit bored in the lower stick. A yell from the priest announced this, and a piece of cotton wool was ignited from the burning dust; with this the fire-wood, previously prepared, was lighted and the fire placed under the remains. Here it was kept up until the end of the feast. After the lighting of the fire, singing and dancing began in earnest, interrupted occasionally by eating and drinking.

766 534 535 The dances are very similar; the principal differences visible to an observer are in the disposition of the dancers, whether in a circle or in one or two straight lines. In the latter case, the two lines are parallel, and the dancers face each other. The dancing is kept up to the "music" of small drums, carved out of a solid piece of wood, with a single head, made of the belly skin of the iguana; the other end is open. The drum is held under the left arm, and is beaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand. The drummers, ranged in a line, sing a monotonous song, with a chorus; the time being beaten on the drums. Sometimes a

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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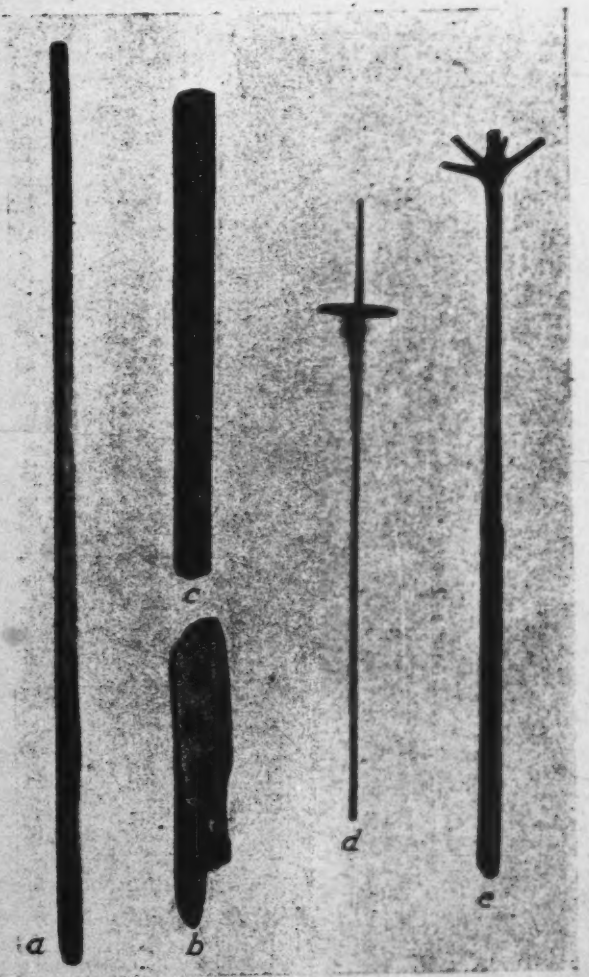

VARIOUS IMPLEMENTS

a, Fire-drill; *b*, Hearth; *c*, Bark-beater; *d*, Spindle; *e*, Cacao stirring stick. (Length of *e*, 26 inches)

[facing p. 72]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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HEADDRESS OF MACAW-FEATHERS AND FIRE-FAN OF HAWK-FEATHERS.

[facing p. 85]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

when it is moistened and made into a large ball, which is dried and put away in some secure place, such as the granary platform or a corner under the eaves, until required. When needed, a portion is pared off with a machete on a platanillo leaf, a little water is added from a calabash, and the pellets are worked up from the damp clay with the fingers and gauged with a bone cylinder. The pellets are then sun-dried, but not baked. It was observed that the hunter usually carries a few balls in his mouth, ready for use, and these are expelled through the tube from the tip of the tongue. 411

Fire-making.—In some of the more remote Bribri camps, matches were unknown, the method of making fire being by means of a wooden hand drill (pl. XIX, *a*, *b*). The entire apparatus consists of a shaft (*a*) about three feet long, and a wooden hearth (*b*) which contains pits to receive the head of the drill. In use, the hearth is held under the foot, the Indian standing upright and twirling the drill between his palms. A bit of cotton in a plantain leaf is kept ready beside the hearth to catch the spark when 372

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

•372 generated, which requires only a few moments. Even those Indians who have modern appliances use the hand drill for lighting ceremonial fires.

[237] [412] *Fire Fans.*—Pl. XXIII, *b*, represents a type of feather fan, used chiefly to accelerate flame. They are composed of nine or ten feathers of a large bird, laid parallel and fastened together at the base by a split reed wrapping, in some cases reinforced with a binding of cotton or other fiber.

501 [439] *Canoes.*—Although the Bribri have "cayukas" obtained from foreigners, no canoes of native manufacture were found. A toy canoe, about three feet long, was observed in one settlement; this was fashioned from a log and pointed at both ends. Gabb states that even in his time the Bribri had no canoes of their own.

282 415 [171] *Leather Pouches.*—Pl. XXV, *b*, illustrates a crude leathern pouch used as a carrying bag; it closely resembles a common North American type.

534 *Musical Instruments.*—The drum is the most important musical instrument of the Bribri. In shape the common native instru-

252 palms are boiled and fried. Another generally liked food is the tender leaf of the bean vine. This is prepared either with eggs or in soup.

Meat, fowl, and fish are frequently wrapped in the leaves of the *bijagua* (*Calathea insignis* Petersen). Another *Calathea* known as "black *bijagua*" is used interchangeably with the first kind. The food wrapped in the leaves is roasted on the hearth stones. There are various ways, however, of preparing different meats. Armadillo is often boiled or fried. Domestic and wild pig and venison are placed on top of three or four sticks over the hearth stones and roasted. Sometimes the flesh of these animals [251] is sun-dried and salted, or is smoked for preservation. Beef is almost never eaten, as the cattle the *Boruca* possess are not numerous and are in the hands of a very few; besides, since they are used for traction, they are economically too important to eat (see p. 23). Posole is a common dish and is made of dried meat, usually wild pig. The meat is chopped fine and cooked with corn. The combination is then ground. If this is boiled every night, it keeps for many days.

Shell fish is boiled, but fish, other than shell fish, is seldom eaten fresh. When it is, however, it is put into a soup, or roasted in leaves, or fried. As a rule the fish is cut into three [251] pieces and salted to be eaten when needed. If salt is not available, the fish is smoked and saved. Smoked fish is said to be excellent for [757] diarrhea.

372 **Fire-making.** The majority of the *Boruca* use matches, although a few of the older people occasionally use two sticks to start a fire. This is accomplished by taking a stick of pejibaye and rubbing it around and around in a small hole in a stick of *guácimo* (*Guazuma ulmifolia* Lam.), until sparks set the *guácimo* on fire. Some of the elders still talk of the stones which were formerly rubbed together to start fire, using a piece of cotton as a wick. These are not seen today.

In the bush, or in the fields, fire, which is all important among the *Boruca* for clearing purposes, is kept in an old tree trunk from day to day. This is done by throwing ashes over and around the fire to keep the embers hot and alive, much as is done in New England fireplaces at present.

[P. 15 (B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

252 boiled or roasted in the ashes of the hearth. Young ears of maize when eaten are prepared in the first manner. Old maize, if not used for chicha (*see* Beverages), is roasted in the ashes or made into a thick mush, mixed with boiled plantains, wrapped in leaves and baked. Tortillas, other than those made from yuca or *pejibaye*, are rare. They are known only in [177] parts of lower Talamanca, where they are called "foreigner's bread," or in Salitre and Ujarrás, where the school has introduced them. Bananas and plantains are generally boiled or roasted in their skin but sometimes are boiled to make a dish known as *cukao* in Cabécar. A bitter chocolate paste is eaten alone or is added to roast plantains. Pumpkin seeds are roasted, peeled, and eaten.

[251] Meat is made into soup, roasted, or dried for later use. Fish is handled in a similar manner. Very little fried foods are consumed.

252 412 [171] The grinding of meal, whether from *pejibayes*, tubers, or maize, is distinct from the method common to Mesoamerica. As a rule, large natural boulders located beside creeks, rivers, or a water hole serve as the mealing stone. However, they are also found within the house (fig. 4, *a* and *b*).[1/4] These grinding stones are generally utilized by several families. When such rocks are not available, a wide wooden plank, raised off the ground by logs, is used. The muller is a river stone and is as oval in shape as possible. Grinding is not done [171] by pushing forward and pulling backward as in western Central America and Mexico, but is accomplished by a side-to-side rocking movement which crushes the foodstuff. This process requires considerable strength and skill. Cacao is also ground in such a fashion and on boulders. At times, however, small raised-edge metates from ancient graves are used. In upper Talamanca, shallow wooden mortars are sometimes seen (*see* Wood and Stone).

372 **Fire-making.** Only in upper Talamanca, in particular among the Bribri, and in upper Chirripó is a wooden fire drill seen. A stick is twirled in a small hole made in a piece of [824] cacique wood (*Eugenia lepidota* Berg) and a bit of cotton is placed beneath it. The stick is twirled continuously until the cotton has been ignited. In most places fire is not allowed to die out or is covered with ashes to preserve

1/4 [See category 116 - END PLATE 3 - ANALYST]

372 it. Matches are fairly common outside of Alta
[177] Talamanca.

251 **Food Storage.** Storage of food in a separate
[243] shelter is not practised except in lower Chirripó where the custom to grow maize as a cash crop is developing. It must be remembered that the principal diet of these people consists of tubers and *pejibayes*. It is not easy to preserve tubers for eating once they are picked. Most foodstuffs are kept in net bags or
[415] hung on rafters, occasionally in bark containers, or dehydrated over the fire. This last method is the one used for keeping *pejibayes* during the months they are not in season. When needed, the dehydrated fruit is put in a pot and boiled. On the Pacific slope, how-
[184] ever, such preservation of *pejibayes* is seldom
[262] practised. Here the people depend upon bananas and plantains during the lean months which in this area are from March to August.

272 **Beverages.** Contrary to popular opinion and the picture Spanish reports tend to draw, the most esteemed beverage among the Talamancan peoples is chocolate. This is the drink cited in their sacred theology (*see* Myths, *Theological Beliefs*) and the preferred drink given to the dead for their non-returnable
[796] journey. In fact, all ceremonies of any conse-
[574] quence require chocolate. It is also the most appreciated drink to offer a friend or to give to people of importance. The drink is pre-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P.16(B)--Qualset]

HOUSES

342 **House Types and Construction.** House types
[184] vary, depending upon the location. The orthodox Talamancan dwelling is large and round with a high conical roof of palm leaves, often with an old pot at the apex. In ancient times
175 it seems to have been a communal clan dwell-
342 ing called by the Spaniards a "palenque," whether or not there was a fence, housing up to three hundred people. The Spanish account furthermore reads:

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.16(B)--Qualset]

[70] Stone, 1949a, p. 10.

[71] De Espinosa, 1742, pp. 77–78. ". . . en que se con-
[361] gregan todos los de la familia de aquel linage, sin permitirse se mezcle uno con otro, y con esto se

501 *cardium rhinocarupus* D.C.) and *ceiba* (*Ceiba*
[824] *pentandra* Gaertn.) are the favorite materials.
[137] The plain of the Sixaola has long been cut
over and these woods are found in the deep
396 forest. The Bribri select the tree and fell it,
fashioning the dugout at the spot and carrying
it to a waterway. It often takes as long as three
days to transport the dugout from the place
of manufacture to a waterway. In making the
boat, the center of the log is burned and the
rest is cut out with machete and axe.

237 **Bone.** Monkey and deer bones are made into
needles (*see* Nets). The leg bone of the wild
turkey (*Penelope purpurascens* Wagl.) is cut
at the top of the joint and is utilized for round-
ing the pellets of the blow gun. Deer bones
are made into handles for rattles and fastened
with *pita*.

412 **Needles and Beads.** *Pejibaye* thorns are used
as well as bone for needles. Beads are fashioned
301 from animal teeth (*see* Dress and Adornment),
stones, shells, and seeds. The holes in all of
these are made with an arrowhead or a fine
pejibaye stick, sand, and water. On the Pacific
432 side, needles are almost always bought.

237 **Wax.** Beeswax has varied uses. The two
[411] most important ones are for fastening on the
sights of blow guns and for holding the shafts
[354] of lances and arrows in place. At times, wax
is made into candles. It is very popular as an
article of trade.

354 **Light.** Candles are made from the white and
824 red *biguerilla*. When dry, the seeds are placed
on top of each other and a stick is run through
the center. In Chirripó, a piece of cotton is
used as a wick in beeswax. The resin from
copal (*Protium copal* Engl.) also serves as a
light, as well as the sap of the red *mastate*.

237 **Feathers.** Bright feathers are used for adorn-
[301] ment both on the house walls and as head-
[372] dresses or around the neck. Tail feathers
and/or wings of wild turkeys are generally
used as fans for the fire.

388 **Soap.** The leaves and fruit of the *guanacaste*
824 tree (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum* Griseb.) are
boiled to make soap.

381 **Glues.** *See* Musical Instruments and Hunting.

281 **Skins.** There is relatively little use of cattle
[231] hide among these people. The Cabécares of the
Pacific slope who have most of the cattle, and
[415] rarely the Bribri and Cabécares of Talamanca,
make pouches or hunting bags from the sacs
of bulls. The Pacific Cabécares also copy their
non-indigenous neighbors in using skins to dry
rice, beans, and cacao. Both wild pig and
jaguar hide are made into pouches. Pieces of
[824] deer hide are used for minute bags which
[777] contain good luck seeds to put on children's
[292] necklaces. In upper Talamanca men (chiefly
[534] medicine men) wear deer and jaguar skins over
their clothing on festive occasions. Peccary
hide is used to cover drums on the Pacific slope
and iguana skin is used on the Caribbean side.

314 **Rubber.** On the Caribbean slope, rubber is
824 tapped from the wild tree (*Castilla fallax* O. F.
Cook) by the Cabécares and made into pouches
(*see* Hunting).

322 **Wood and Stone.** Wood, of course, has a
variety of uses many of which have been
mentioned earlier. Among the Bribri of the
[252] Caribbean littoral, grinding tables are often
made of wood and are large enough for several
women to use at the same time. They are
located beside a water hole or stream and are
balanced on logs. On the Caribbean side,
[415] mahogany or cedar mixing trays or troughs,
[273] up to twelve feet in length and supported by
four feet, are used for chicha mash (*see* Furnishings). Vertical wooden mortars for rice,
[412] shallow mortars, and large trays or bowls are
[415] common. These last two items are used for
drying foodstuffs or even for mixing paste
[251] with water. Wooden staffs known as *cacique*
[252] sticks are an important part of the medicine
man's equipment (*see* Special Paraphernalia
and Significance).

372 In upper Talamanca, the fire stick is used
(*see* Fire-making).

324 Stone is not worked today but is employed
287 for food preparation and the manufacture of
bark cloth.